

nist Information Bureau, and in the decisions of the 1948 convention. That evaluation centered around two propositions: One that there are the forces of peace and democracy under the leadership of the Soviet Union that struggle for peace and democracy and against war, and then there are those forces that are the forces of imperialism and monopoly capitalism, that breed war, and that the United States is at the head of this group in these two camps and the Party line was—

11714 THE WITNESS: The main line was for the Party to exert all its efforts in the interests of that camp that struggles for peace against monopoly capitalism, for that camp that was headed by the Soviet Union. That was the main line of the Party, and in order to make that line effective, in the meantime to build the Communist Party, to strengthen the membership of the Communist Party and Marxist-Leninist ideology and to recruit new members, to improve the Party as an organization, and in line with this main objective, this main line, this main approach, also to struggle on civil liberties and many other side issues. The main line was the so-called struggle for peace on the side of the camp which was headed by the Soviet Union.

By MR. PAISLEY:

11715 Q. When you were in the Party, at the time you left the Party was that attitude embodied in any slogan or any tactical approach to the problem?

THE WITNESS: Yes, it was the struggle against imperialist wars and the building of a united front in this struggle.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. A struggle for peace? A. A struggle for peace against imperialist war. It was a similar slogan to the slogan in the thirties, the United front against fascism and war. After 1945 it was to unite and struggle against imperialist war.

11743 THE WITNESS: The preamble was a matter of interpretation based on one's knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and also the revised 1948 constitution with the insertion of a clause there, a self-serving clause, was also quite evident on the question of force and violence—

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THE WITNESS: There was no such clause in the 1945 constitution. It was placed in there by the Party leadership in 1948. In that sense it was self-serving. It was in no Party constitution in 1945 when the 1945 convention adopted the constitution. It was a question of one's political understanding and interpretation of the document, the constitution that was adopted at the convention. There were possibly some who took the document seriously, but in Party ranks, the Party leadership ranks, the constitution was just a by-law. The preamble was contradictory, and it was taken in that sense.

MISS McHALE: What was its purpose, then? You 11744 went to all this trouble. What was its function?

THE WITNESS: The constitution's function? Every organization adopts a constitution.

MISS McHALE: Oh, yes. That is basic.

THE WITNESS: That is right. The Communist Party adopted a constitution, but the Communist Party was also a Marxist-Leninist organization, and it had its ideology and outlook, and some clauses of that constitution are in conflict with that outlook. That is the point I was making, particularly in the preamble.

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CROSS EXAMINATION

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By MR. MARCANTONIO:

11815 Q. I now show you CP-55 marked for identification.

That is the pamphlet entitled "The New York Herald Tribune's 23 Questions About the Communist Party, answered by William Z. Foster." Have you seen this before? A. I have a vague recollection that I have.

Q. As a matter of fact, it was widely distributed in Communist Party circles, was it not? A. This statement first appeared in the Herald Tribune, and then it was reproduced by the Party.

Q. Yes, and widely distributed? A. Well, yes, it was sold in the bookstores and it was sold in the branch sections literature departments, yes.

Q. It is a document by William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Party? A. Yes.

Q. It was authoritative as far as the Party was concerned, was it not? A. Yes.

11826 Q. This pamphlet which you now have before you, CP Exhibit 56, was a pamphlet distributed among the membership of the Communist Party, by The Communist Party, was it not? A. Yes.

Q. It being by Eugene Dennis—who was he? He was Secretary of the Communist Party, was he not? A. General Secretary.

THE WITNESS: In 1947-48 the Party was under attack because the Party took a position against the true Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the American Foreign Policy and the policy of the Government in general on foreign issues. Under this attack on two occasions the Party issued through the General Secretary and through the Chairman a position about the Party in general and answered 11827 some of the questions that were leveled against the Party at that particular time. In that sense it is a self-serving document.

A. It was a run-of-the-mill pamphlet. When it came out it was available, and three days later it was forgotten. It was not pushed like other Marxist-Leninist material, week in and week out, day in and day out in the Party. It was that kind of document.

Q. You say the document containing questions and answers, questions put to Eugene Dennis, the Secretary of the Party, and answers given by Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the Party, was just gotten out but then forgotten in two or three days, is that it? A. It was gotten out, it was published, it was sent out to the Party through channels. It was available. But soon after—I don't say three or four days, but soon after it was forgotten. It was not a basic document like the Marxist-Leninist classics. That is what I mean.

11831 MR. MARCANTONIO: Following Petitioner's custom, I now wish to emphasize and respectfully call the Panel's attention to page 3 and page 5. The question on page 3 is, "The first loyalty of the Communist Party is to the Soviet Union and it is only secondarily concerned with American Welfare." I call the Panel's attention to the answer to that question.

"And the question on page 5: "The Party is part of a 'world-wide fifth column' serving the interests of the USSR." I respectfully call the Panel's attention to the answer to that question contained on page 5.

11832 THE WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, on these documents, this document was to equip the Party membership how to answer these questions that are leveled and these charges that are leveled against the Party, and in that sense it is an authorized answer to equip the Party membership in all organizations to answer specific charges against the Communist Party and to answer it in an authorized way by Dennis and Foster. That is the purpose that these two documents serve. I see an inconsistency—

MR. ABT: Mr. Chairman.

THE WITNESS: —in these answers and Marxism-Leninism as it was taught and was being taught in the Communist Party. There is no consistency between these two positions.

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

11833 Q. Did you ever teach these questions and answers that Mr. Foster and Mr. Dennis gave, that they were inconsistent with Marxist-Leninist theory? Did you ever teach that? A. I never used these pamphlets in the school.

Q. Yes, but you knew they were in existence, didn't you? A. I never referred to them in the school.

Q. But you knew of their existence, didn't you? A. They weren't important enough.

Q. I didn't ask you that. Did you know they were in existence at the time you taught school? A. But they have no validity as far as teaching Marxism-Leninism in schools is concerned. This is a tactical situation where the Party has to answer charges leveled against the Party, and these two pamphlets were published in order to equip the Party membership from top to bottom how to answer these charges. That is the value of these two pamphlets.

11902 Q. Now, as a matter of fact, when you were teaching in these schools in '47, '48, and '49, did not the Communist Party also teach that the first objective should be neither a Communist Government or a Socialist Government, but the election of a people's front government? Did they not so teach? A. No. Because since 1945 we had this new phenomena. A chain of so-called people's governments were established in Poland, in Hungary, in Czecho-

11903 slovakia, in Rumania, in Bulgaria, where the dictatorship of the proletariat, through the ruling party, the Communist Party was a factor. But as far as the—the content was there. The dictatorship of the proletariat. But as far as form was concerned, it was not the Soviet form. It was not the Soviet form that was taught.

Q. I don't know whether you understood me or not. But did you teach, were you not taught, or was it not stated time and time again by leading Communists in the United States—I am talking about men like Foster, and so on—that the first objective should be in the United States neither a Communist movement, neither a Communist Government

nor a Socialist Government, but the election of the people's front government. A. It wasn't that way, no.

Q. It wasn't that way? A. What was taught, the united fronts are tactics in furthering the strategic objectives of the Communist Party. Dimitroff's Seventh World Congress Report is that tactical approach, the people's fronts, the united fronts of the working class that leads to working achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat and leads to working achievement of the Communist Party gaining power.

Q. Were you not taught, and did not the leading 11904 Communists state, and didn't you teach that a people's front government would be a coalition government of representatives of the workers, working farmers, Negro people, and progressive small businessmen and professional people? Is that not so? A. I didn't see any Party document where, on the basis in the struggle for peace against the imperialism that there was a people's front government feasible in the immediate future. I didn't see that kind of teaching in the Party.

In fact, when Foster came back from Europe, when he wrote this—

Q. The Twilight of World Capitalism? A. I don't know. When he came back. Not Twilight of Capitalism. He wrote a pamphlet about new democracies in which he made certain references of a transition period. And then I am not exact now in what Political Affairs on certain aspects of theory on this question Foster had to reverse himself. I know that it exists, and I will have to find it, and I will find it.

11905 Q. Are you familiar with this later book by Foster, The Twilight of World Capitalism? A. '49? I didn't make a study of it. I might have seen it.

MR. ART: Will you show it to the witness, please?

(A book was handed to the witness.)

THE WITNESS: I could have read it.

By Mr. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Yes. As a matter of fact, it is an authoritative presentation of the Party's views on various subjects of the days of 1949, was it not, written by the Chairman of the Party? A. Yes.

11907 Q. Now, does not Mr. Foster declare, and I now read from page 125, the beginning of the first full paragraph:

"In order for the people to put the United States firmly on the path toward peace, democracy, and general well-being, the power of the monopolists who dominate our country must be curbed and finally broken, and the people themselves must take political charge, under the leadership of the working class. The struggle for socialism grows inevitably out of the everyday fight of the workers and their allies, especially against the present menaces of economic chaos, fascism, and war. In all good time the American people, on the basis of their existing conditions, will decide how and in what forms they will introduce socialism. The way our Party foresees the possible development of the future is along the following general lines:

"First, we propose the regular election of a democratic coalition government, based on a broad united front combination of workers, small farmers, Negroes, professionals, small business groups, and other democratic elements who are ready to fight against monopoly, economic breakdown, fascism, and war. This type of united front government could well have behind it an overwhelming majority of the people as it has in other lands."

Is that not the objective of the Party? A. Well, you are quoting now from a book that was written by William Z. Foster in 1949.

Q. Yes. A. Now, you started at: "In order for the people to put the United States firmly on the path"—et cetera, et cetera.

From the same page, the same book, let me also read one sentence, and then I will give you my answer.

"Otherwise, our Party works out its policies and programs upon the basis of its own understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the requirements of the political situation in the United States and the world."

This is what Foster says.

Q. That is before what I have read, is it not? A: Yes.

Q. It is in the previous paragraph, is it not? A. 11909 Yes.

Q. Just—

MR. PAISLEY: Please don't interrupt.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I was just identifying paragraphs.

MR. PAISLEY: You interrupted him when he was trying to answer.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Mr. Chairman, excuse me a minute; I am not going to interrupt. I simply want to state that that kind of interruption was just like saying, "On what page are you reading?" I wanted to point out that was the language that preceded the paragraph which I had read.

MR. BROWN: Very well.

THE WITNESS: If you want my answer, in the light of what happened between the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party of Russia, and Yugoslavia, this whole thing is poppycock, because it doesn't conform with the facts. It doesn't conform with historical facts.

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

Q. Then you disagree with Mr. Foster? A: In the light of what he says over here, what I read here, "Otherwise our Party works out its policies and programs upon the basis of its own understanding," and what happened in Yugoslavia, Tito was not allowed to work out his own policies, well, this whole thesis over here, this whole presentation does not conform with the truth.

11910 Q. And this was written in 1949? A. 1949, after the Tito experience.

Q. And you testified that you were familiar with it, then. Did you at any time in the Party say what Mr. Foster wrote here was poppycock? A. I said I might have read it in 1949. I didn't study it.

Q. So that now you say if you had studied it you would have stood up and said it was poppycock; is that it? A. I would scratch my head and say, "Well, Foster is getting old, or he doesn't know what he is saying."

11911 Q. I am asking you as of 1949, at the time that you were a member of the Communist Party, this was the Party line, what Mr. Foster wrote, was it not? A. Yes.

Q. Yes? A. Yes.

Q. And then didn't Foster say, as we find here on page 125, continuing:

"This type of united front government could well 11912 have behind it an overwhelming majority of the people, as it has in other lands. It goes without saying that the election of such a democratic government could only be brought about in the face of powerful and very surely violent opposition from organized reaction. The whole history of the American class struggle, which is full of examples of employer violence in strikes and in other mass struggles, teaches this lesson with unmistakable clarity. The bitter attacks made against the Progressive Party, led by Henry Wallace, during the 1948 elections, gave a sure indication of the frenzy and desperation with which the capitalists would confront a people's united front combination that was strong enough actually to threaten their control of Congress and the Presidency. Obviously, it would be an extremely difficult proposition to elect a truly democratic government in the face of this strong, violent, and reactionary opposition."

"Second, our Party contends that such an anti-fascist, anti-war, democratic coalition government, once in power, would be compelled either to move to the Left or to die."

This was a position of Mr. Foster and the position of the Communist Party; is that not right? A. Well, according to this book, that was the position, and that was the thinking of William Z. Foster. But may I add this: That this whole thing that you read is highly speculative, and it has no basis and no reality.

Q. Speculative or not, it was the position of the Communist Party; is that not right? A. That is right.

Q. And continuing, and I am just going to read this last portion, Mr. Chairman, at the bottom of the last full paragraph on page 126, Mr. Foster states:

"Only in this way will this country and the world be finally freed of the dangers of poverty, economic chaos, fascist slavery, and murderous war. These steps could be taken legally by a people's government, notwithstanding the opposition of the capitalists, however violent.

"To promote the election of a progressive, coalition government of this type which, by force of circumstances, would move to the Left and, eventually, to socialism, on the general pattern of the European people's democracies, is obviously not to advocate a program of force and violence, the enemies of the Communist Party to the contrary notwithstanding."

A. I said that this is highly speculative, and it just confirms that, because none of the new democracies followed this pattern in their establishment of a people's democracy in Europe, not a single one of them.

11914 Q. So, you say Foster is wrong? A. What Foster—

Q. Says here is wrong? A. He is wrong.

Q. Yes. A. He is wrong.

Q. But it happens that Foster is the Chairman of the Communist Party, and he is talking for the Communist Party, and you are not in 1949; right? In writing here Mr. Foster is speaking for the Communist Party as its Chairman. A. When was this published in 1949? I don't know.

Q. I am asking you this question: In this publication he is speaking as Chairman of the Communist Party, is he not?

Whether you agree or disagree with him, the point is, in stating this, he is making a statement as Chairman of the Communist Party, is he not? A. He wrote the book.

Q. As Chairman of the Communist Party? A. Correct.

Q. And he is setting forth the line of the Communist Party? A. The line of the Communist Party is not put forward by Mr. Foster; the line of the Communist Party is put forward by convention, by resolutions. This is Foster's book. It so happens he is also Chairman of the Communist Party. And I again make references 11915 to a previous book where he had some kind of an evaluation of the people's democracies that later on he had to retract. I will find that.

11916 Q. I am not asking you about 1952, I am asking you up to the time that you were expelled from the Communist Party in 1949, up to that time, did you see anywhere—and you said at that time you were kept 11917 abreast of all of the Party's literature—did you see anywhere any criticism or repudiation of the writings which I have just read to you by Mr. Foster? A. I stated that I did not see it.

Q. You recall earlier in the afternoon you stated that in your teachings and in your talks at various times in the Communist Party you used Dimitroff's the United Front. A. Yes, I made reference to it.

Q. Teachings on the Seventh World Congress? A. Yes, I made reference to it.

Q. Which is now Petitioner's Exhibit 149. You are familiar with this, are you not? A. Yes. It contains the reports and speeches of Georgi Dimitroff, who was General Secretary of the Communist International in the period that he was functioning as a leading functionary of the Communist International.

11942 Q. Would you say that the situation subsequent to the 1948 convention with respect to support of the leadership was that of solid support on the part of the membership? A. I would put it this way, that on the basis of democratic centralism there was no outspoken or no frontal attack against the Party leadership.

Q. Do you know of any opposition to the Party leadership? A. Democratic centralism wouldn't allow it.

11944 Q. You told us here that you saw Eisler at a banquet which was held at a smorgasbord restaurant, is that right? A. Yes.

Q. What year was that? A. It was in 1949.

Q. This banquet was held about two or three weeks after he came out of Ellis Island, is that right? A. He was out of Ellis Island. I don't know whether it was two or three weeks after. It was shortly after.

Q. Shortly after he was out of Ellis Island. This banquet was held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, you told us? A. Yes, nominally under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress.

11966 THE WITNESS: As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, the Party always charged that it was imperialism that breeds war, not the Soviet Union.

Q. You testified that in 1947 Peters stayed in your apartment for a month and a half, isn't that right? A. Yes.

Q. And that he went up-state after he left you? A. Yes.

Q. And that he was picked up by immigration authorities in Peekskill about a week after he left your apartment, is that correct? A. A week or ten days after he left my place.

Q. Did you tip off the immigration authorities? A. I resent that.

Q. Your answer is no? A. No, definitely not.

Q. He was arrested on a deportation warrant, right? A. He was picked up because of his own stupidity. He was traveling around in his car with a license plate that was registered in his own name, which was carelessness.

Q. That was stupid for him to go around in a car registered in his own name? A. If he was in illegality, it was stupid on his part to travel in his own car.

Q. The point of fact is that he was picked up on a deportation warrant, right? A. I don't know on what warrant he was picked up.

Q. He was later deported, isn't that right? A. He was not deported.

Q. He was not deported? A. No.

Q. As a matter of fact, the Department of Justice permitted him to depart voluntarily, isn't that correct? A. Yes, in 1949.

11968 Q. Exactly. A. Yes.

Q. After he was picked up on this deportation warrant he was released on bail, right? You so testified, did you not? A. Yes. He was released on bail, and he remained outside on bail for almost a year.

Q. Exactly. A. Then a deal was made—

THE WITNESS: A deal was made on voluntary departure. The deal was made, let's say on a Thursday with the immigration authorities, and on Saturday morning he departed.

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

Q. By deal, you mean that the immigration authorities of the Department of Justice agreed to let him depart voluntarily? A. That is right.

Q. Prior to that, prior to departing voluntarily he did not conceal himself. He went around about his business, did he not? A. Yes. He was in the Party building. He had four classes over there for concentration work. After he
11969 testified to the New York grand jury, after he was called in to testify to the New York Grand Jury about the Whittaker Chambers case, he was an unfriendly

witness so the grand jury let him go. He was on bail. He was teaching classes in the Party building. He had his office on the ninth floor. Then after this arrangement was made with the immigration department on a Thursday, on a Saturday morning he was gone.

11972 Q. Did you attend the special convention of the Communist Party in 1940? A. Yes.

Q. In what month did that convention take place? A. That convention was held in the fall of 1940, and if my recollection is correct it was in the Odd Fellows Temple in East Harlem near the New York Central Railroad Building.

Q. And the purpose of the convention was to disaffiliate from the Communist International, was it not? A. Yes.

Q. You were a delegate to that convention? A. Yes.

Q. At that time you were a delegate from where, from West Virginia? A. From West Virginia. The specific purpose of that convention was to meet in an emergency. You see, we had a convention that summer, the regular convention that summer, and the special convention was called to meet in emergency in the way of the Voorhis Act at that time.

Q. Did you attend a meeting of district organizers that took place prior to the convention? A. Yes.

11973 Q. You were a district organizer in West Virginia? A. Correct.

Q. You testified that the purpose of the meeting was stated by Earl Browder, right? A. That 1940 emergency convention?

Q. Yes. A. Yes.

Q. Browder made the report to the convention on the question of disaffiliation, did he not?

Q. Yes, and he reported at the convention. A. That is right. Whatever decision this convention will take will in no way affect the question of proletariat internationalism, proletariat solidarity and fraternal relationship between the parties. It was specifically called to meet this emergency situation created by the Voorhis Act in 1940.

Q. Is that what he said to the convention? A. I don't know whether he said it in the district organizers' meeting or the convention, I have no recollection, but that was the purpose of that convention.

11974 Q. You heard Browder make the speech himself?

A. Yes.

Q. You say you don't remember what he said? I show you Exhibit CP-13, which is the report of Mr. Browder, the speech that he made at the convention we are talking about. I show it to you to refresh your recollection. After you have looked at it—and I ask you to take some time to look at it—after you have looked at it I ask you to tell me whether or not that is the speech that Mr. Browder made.

Q. Was that Mr. Browder's speech or report as far as you remember? A. In essence, yes.

11976 Q. When you testified here to the effect that Mr. Browder reaffirmed the principles of proletarian internationalism at this convention, I am now asking you did you have in mind the following paragraph from the resolution of the convention that Mr. Browder proposed to the convention. I quote:

"That the convention reaffirms the unshakable adherence of our Party to the principles of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of its greatest leaders and teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which offer the only road to the future for suffering humanity."

Did you have that in mind when you made that statement? A. Something to that effect. I also recall that the official organ of the Communist International, the
11977 theoretical organ, was not available for a time and it was reprinted here in the United States under the editorship of Browder for a few issues, and that died out, too.

Q. But it was published. A. Yes.

Q. So it was in Mr. Browder's convention report that this statement was made, isn't that right; the statement I just read? A. Yes, something to that effect, about not giving that it does not mean necessarily cutting off fraternal relationships and ties and giving up proletarian internationalism with the other brother parties; that what this emergency convention meant was the meeting of the emergency by the Voorhis Act that was supposed to go into effect shortly after this convention.

Q. That is the interpretation you placed on Browder's report? A. That is right. That was the sole reason for that emergency convention.

Q. This statement that I read to you, and which I re-read, quotes:

"That the convention reaffirms the unshakable adherence of our party to the principles of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of its greatest leaders and teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, which offer the only road to the future for suffering humanity"—was in essence the same statement that Mr. Browder made

also in the district organizers' meeting, isn't that right? A. What Browder said at the district organizers' meeting was that this convention has one purpose only, to meet this emergency, to meet the Voorhis Act, that the Party will fight against any attempt to be branded as a foreign agent or ties with foreign agency or under the influence of a foreign country.

12078

REDIRECT EXAMINATION

By Mr. PAISLEY:

12080

Q. Mr. Lautner, I call your attention to Petitioner's Exhibit No. 376 and direct your attention to page 229, upon which page are greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of the United States of America.

12081 The question is, first, Is that the particular greeting to which you had reference in your testimony which you gave on direct examination?

12083 Q. Mr. Lautner, based upon your experiences in the Communist Party of the United States as you detailed them here, upon the instructions you received while in the Communist Party and the instructions which you gave as a teacher in the Communist Party, and based upon your study of Communist Party official publications after you left the Communist Party, will you state to the Panel how you as a student of Marxism-Leninism would have interpreted such a greeting as that while you were in the Party?

12087 THE WITNESS: First of all, this is not just a simple greeting. This is a political document of the highest importance. In such a concise way it raises all the key problems that the American Party is confronted with. Namely, it raises the problem of wishing successes to the American Party in the struggle against reaction, which is the fundamental struggle based on Marxism-Leninism. It raises the problem which the American Party suffers from, the ideological strengthening of the Party ranks. It raises the united front tactics that the Party is facing, the struggle for lasting peace between peoples. It raises the question of international solidarity. It raises the question of socialism. It raises the question of friendship between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union, which peoples the American Party is supposed to represent. It raises the question of "long live the Communist Party of the United States." In so concise form it raises all the basic questions that the American Party is confronted with at the present time, a very precise and concise document in the form of greeting the American Party at its 15th Convention. I think is it highly significant. It gives

leadership to the American Party and those who did read this document.

Q. Mr. Lantner, how would you have interpreted the words, "struggle against reaction"?

THE WITNESS: That is the basic struggle of Marxism-Leninism. Today reaction is represented in the imperialism and monopoly capitalism. It is the basic line of the Party, the struggle against reaction.

By MR. PAISLEY

Q. How would you have interpreted "ideological strengthening of party ranks"? A. Our Party suffered from opportunist deviations from time to time, and the 1950 Convention was a good time for the Soviet Party to call this deficiency to the attention of the rank and file of the American Party members.

12089 Q. How would you have interpreted "struggle for peace, democracy and socialism"? A. That is the new tactical approach since the end of the war, the link in the chain with which this tactical united front is to be built.

12091 Q. Do you remember that on cross-examination Mr. Marcantonio read from this book by Foster, "The Twilight of World Capitalism"? Do you recall that? A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall saying in effect that he had to change his position later on, and it was written up in Political Affairs? A. Correct, and I also stated that I will find that Political Affairs.

Q. Did you find it? A. Yes.

Q. I hand you Political Affairs for June 1950. Can you point it out to the Panel? A. I found that article in which

Foster, in an article, "People's Front and People's Democracy," re-evaluates his whole position on the people's front, and where he accepts criticism and then tries to blame other international leaders that they made a similar mistake in the evaluation of the people's front and what it stands for, and also the people's democracies. I think the article speaks for itself.

Q. Show me the page number there. A. From page 14 through page 31.

MR. PAISLEY: We want to offer in evidence this article by William Z. Foster entitled "People's Front and People's Democracy," including pages 14 through 31. We have not yet had it photostated, but I believe it is in process. We will have to take this and have it photostated.

MR. BROWN: Very well.

MR. ABT: Mr. Chairman, I object on the ground that the document is already in evidence as Petitioner's Exhibit No. 219.

MR. BROWN: The same article?

MR. ABT: Exactly the same article.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Word for word, Mr. Chairman.

MR. PAISLEY: Yes. We find, Mr. Chairman, that that was put in by Dr. Mosely. We particularly call to the Board's attention in connection with the witness' testimony about Foster's work "The Twilight of Capitalism"—

MR. MARCANTONIO: What is the statement, that he wants what testimony on "The Twilight of Capitalism"?

MR. PAISLEY: I am particularly calling this article to the Panel's attention in connection with the witness' testimony on cross-examination about Foster's "Twilight of 12093 World Capitalism." We call your particular attention to this article, and we emphasize the first page of the article on page 14.

We emphasize page 15 to "The Significance of Fascism."

We emphasize the section entitled "The Policy of the People's Front" at the bottom of page 18, page 19, and the first column of page 20.

We emphasize the first full paragraph on page 25, beginning "In any case"; also the section entitled "The Question of People's Democracy" on pages 26 and 27, especially the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 26 and ending at the top of page 27.

The last full paragraph on page 29, beginning "When we say," through the next to the last paragraph on page 30, ending with "violence against the people."

12094 Q. I call your attention to page 126 of Communist Party Exhibit No. 58, which is "The Twilight of World Capitalism," by Foster. I direct your attention to the first full paragraph, the first sentence thereof, which reads as follows:

"Second, our Party contends that such an anti-fascist, anti-war, democratic coalition government once in power would be compelled either to move to the left or to die."

Mr. Lautner, as a student of Marxism-Leninism how would you interpret that language?

12098 THE WITNESS: Mr. Chairman, yesterday from this "Twilight of World Capitalism" Mr. Marcantonio read a lengthy piece from page 125 and 126 which was supposed to be the position that Foster had in relation to the question of united front, people's front, et cetera. I said that that thing is poppycock. It does not conform with the realities in 1949. It was speculative. It is not the position of the Party.

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TRANSCRIPT OF RECORD
(Pages 999 to 1498)

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1955

No. 48

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, PETITIONER,**

vs.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD

**ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT**

PETITION FOR CERTIORARI FILED APRIL 13, 1955

CERTIORARI GRANTED MAY 31, 1955

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IN THE
United States Court of Appeals

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 11,850

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA, *Petitioner,*

v. /

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD,
Respondent.

On Petition to Review and Set Aside an Order of the
Subversive Activities Control Board

JOINT APPENDIX

VOLUME III

(Pages 999 to 1498)

12116 Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin called as a witness on behalf of Petitioner, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. DENUNZIO:

12143 Q. Mrs. Baldwin, did you have a membership card for the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951? A. No, I did not.

Q. Why did you not have membership cards for those years? A. None were issued for those years.

Q. Do you know why membership cards were not issued for the years 1949, 1950, and 1951? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Who told you the reason?

12144 THE WITNESS: Helen Allison Winter, Phil Schatz.

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. What were you told specifically in connection with the non-issuance of cards for that year?

MR. ABT: May we have the time and place, Mr. Chairman?

MR. BROWN: The time and place? Will you give that, Mrs. Baldwin?

THE WITNESS: Yes. It was in the District Office headquarters the latter part of 1948 when we would usually get ready for registration in the fall of the year preceding, and I was told at that time, in the morning by Helen Allison, and in the afternoon by Phil Schatz, that there would be no cards issued for security reasons.

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. For security reasons. You have testified previously that in 1947 you assisted in the registration of membership and the collection of dues both for the District headquarters and the 14th Congressional Club. Where were those mem-

bership dues records kept? A. To which do you mean? The 14th or the complete State of Michigan?

Q. The 14th and the State of Michigan. A. They were both kept in my home.

Q. Kept in your home? A. In my home.

12145 Q. Why were they kept in your home?

MR. ABT: I object.

MR. BROWN: I will allow it. The witness may answer.

THE WITNESS: Helen Allison had told me that they did not wish records, membership records, dues records, kept at the district office because they might be searched.

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. When did she tell you that? A. She told me that just prior to my activity in registration. That would be about September of 1947.

Q. Do you know what was happening during that period of time whereby she thought it would be not safe to keep those records in the district party headquarters?

12146 THE WITNESS: I was told that that would be a security reason, in case the office was searched, because the Mundt-Nixon bill was up at that time and they were frightened that the office might be searched.

MR. BROWN: Who told you this?

THE WITNESS: Helen Allison told me that.

MR. BROWN: When did she tell you that?

THE WITNESS: At the Party headquarters sometime in September of 1947.

MR. BROWN: Very well.

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. Did these records remain in your home? A. For a short period until some of them were taken out.

Q. By whom and when were some of these records taken out, and under what circumstances? A. In November, about the middle of November 1947, Phil Schatz came to my home, went through the files that I was keeping there, destroyed all trade union cards and any

lists of clubs that I had, except those which I had not tabulated as yet. He asked that I put those untabulated after they had been recorded in an envelope and keep them for him personally.

Q. Will you tell us who Phil Schatz was? A. Phil Schatz was the organizational secretary in 1947.

Q. At the time of that visit from Phil Schatz did he destroy or take away all of the cards in your possession? A. No. About a week later, ten days at the most, he came back to my home and destroyed all of the registration cards, that is, the individual card which gives the full status of an individual member. He destroyed those, and he also destroyed other records that I had, that is, membership names by the club.

Q. Did any records remain in your possession which had the names of Communists on them, the names of members of the Communist Party? A. No.

Q. Did Phil Schatz at that time tell you the reason for destroying the cards? A. He didn't for those particular people—

12148 Q. Give me the conversation. Did he tell you why he was destroying the records? A. Yes, he did. The number one reason was because they had received a membership card through the mail and the envelope had been opened. He said for security reasons he didn't want any data lying around.

Q. Mrs. Baldwin, during your membership in the Communist Party did you know a person by the name of Bill Allan? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Who is Bill Allan? A. He is a correspondent for the Daily Worker, and he was also Chairman or organizer for the Lower East Side Section of the Communist Party.

Q. Of what district? A. District 7.

Q. Did you attend a meeting in the early part of 1948 where he spoke? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where was the meeting held? A. It was held at the Civic Center, Detroit.

Q. When was it held? A. About April.

Q. Did you attend that meeting? A. Yes, I did.

12149 Q. What was the purpose of that meeting? A. He outlined security measures for the Party.

Q. Tell us what he said at that meeting. A. He told us that all clubs should prepare to call emergency meetings and that the section itself should be supplied with mimeograph machines, mimeograph papers, and office supplies, and that no records were to be kept of members within the club or within the section, no telephone calls were to be made.

Q. Did he state anything as to what was to be done about dues collected, and so forth? A. Yes, he did. He said all moneys collected from the clubs or moneys raised
12150 by the section should be put in the bank under an individual's name, not under an organizational name.

Q. To your knowledge, pursuant to the advice given by Bill Allan, were any steps taken to secure machines and supplies, and so forth? A. Yes, there were.

Q. Tell us what steps were taken. I mean steps that have come to your knowledge, now.

THE WITNESS: Yes, about June or July of 1948 there was an emergency meeting called at the civic center by the lower East Side Executive Board. It didn't materialize into such a meeting. However, there were several people presented themselves there, and Oscar Rodes gave different members portable or collapsible mimeograph machines.

By Mr. DeNunzio:

Q. What kind of machines? A. Mimeograph machines.

Q. How many machines did you see there at that time?
A. At that time I counted eight.

12151 Q. Eight. Do you know what was done with those machines? A. To those who were present it was given, mainly, in the auto workers.

Q. There were more than eight people present at that meeting, weren't there? A. No. Something happened. It didn't materialize.

Q. Can you give us the names of any persons, members of the Communist Party, who at that time received mimeograph machines and supplies?

THE WITNESS: Sven Falk, Ernie Sorensen, Harry Boskey. That is all I recall at this time.

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. Did you receive a machine? A. No, I did not.

Q. Were you told what use was to be made of these portable machines and supplies? A. The members getting them were told that—

Q. Were you present when they were told? A. Yes.

Q. You were present? A. Yes.

Q. Very well. Will you tell us what was told to these members receiving these machines as to what use they should make of them? A. Yes. They were to be put away and forgotten until they would be needed at any time that we would not be able to operate in the open, to be used for leaflets.

Q. After this meeting in April where Bill Allan spoke, did you attend any other meeting shortly thereafter concerning security measures? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What meeting? Tell us where and when it was held. A. In May of 1948 I attended a lower East Side executive board meeting at the Civic Center at which James Jackson gave us a security outline.

Q. All right. Before you tell us about that, what was the lower East Side section? A. It was a divisional section taking in all of the lower East Side and part of the northeast side membership of the Party.

Q. You state that James Jackson spoke at this meeting? A. Yes, I did.

Q. You were present? A. I was.

Q. Tell us what position James Jackson had in the district party? A. He was the educational director for District 7.

Q. What was the substance of his speech at that meeting? A. He stated that for security reasons the section itself was to be broken down into 50 groups, and that each group would function as a separate club.

Q. Approximately how many clubs did this east side section have? Can you tell us that? Do you know? Did it have many? A. Yes, it had quite a few.

Q. About how many would you estimate? A. About 12 or 14 at that time.

Q. Did you attend any other meetings shortly thereafter concerning security measures? A. Yes, the very next night.

Q. You attended another meeting? A. Yes.

Q. Where was that meeting held? A. That was the 14th Congressional Executive Board, which was held at 12154 4110 Haverhill, Detroit.

Q. Who spoke at this meeting? A. Peggy Wellman.

Q. What was Peggy Wellman's position in the district party? A. She was educational director for the 14th Club.

Q. Can you give us the substance of her talk that evening? A. Yes. She said for security reasons the lower east side section council had authorized the breaking up of each club into groups of five, and that was done that night.

Q. Mrs. Baldwin, you testified previously that in July 1950 the auto miscellaneous section was dissolved, isn't that so? A. That is right.

Q. Do you know the reason why it was dissolved?

Q. Were you told by any member or functionary of District 7 why— A. Yes, I was.

Q. —why the miscellaneous auto section was dissolved?

Were you told by anyone why? A. Yes, I was.

12155 Q. Who told you? A. Oscar Rodas.

Q. What was Oscar Rodes' position in the Party at that time? A. He was organizational secretary at that time.

Q. What did he tell you? A. He told me that it was being dissolved for security reasons so that the auto workers could go into the community sections and clubs and lose their identity.

Q. Mrs. Baldwin, as a member of the Communist Party, District No. 7, did you know a member of the Communist Party by the name of Nat Ganley? I think you have already answered that previously. Tell us what position Nat Ganley had in the Party. A. In 1948, in the early spring when the auto miscellaneous was constituted, he became organizer for that section.

Q. Which section is that, please? A. Auto Miscellaneous Section. He also was a correspondent for the Michigan Worker and the Daily Worker.

Q. Shortly after the dissolution of the auto miscellaneous section did you attend a meeting where Nat Ganley presided? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where was the meeting held and when?

12156 A. Yes, it was in 1950, the summer, about August of 1950.

Q. Where was that meeting held? A. At Peggy Wellman's home.

Q. Did you attend the meeting? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was the purpose of this meeting? A. Nat Ganley said that it was called for the purpose of organizing a completely new section called the Upper East Side Section, which would take in part of the Auto clubs of the Auto Miscellaneous Section, which had been dissolved, and would include the community club in that section, within that territory.

12157 Q. Was he to hold any position in this new section? A. Yes, he was to be regional director and we were to have an organizational secretary.

Q. How was the section to be divided? A. All community clubs within that section would carry groups, not over five people, and in the shop branches they would have three members to each group, and no more.

Q. Did he state at that time the reason why there would be such small groups of individuals? A. Yes, it was a security measure so that too many people would not be gathered at one place.

Q. At this meeting were you assigned any position? A. Yes, I was assigned a leader of the group within my immediate territory.

Q. How many members did your group consist of? A. Four; five, with myself, I believe.

12158 Q. Did you thereafter function as the head of your group? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What were your duties as leader of the group? A. I contacted each individual member because I had been told at that meeting that we couldn't have group meetings. So I contacted the individuals and discussed their problems.

Q. Shortly after your appointment as a group leader, did you attend any meetings concerning the leadership of the Party district? A. Yes, I did.

Q. When and where was the meeting held? A. It was October, I believe the 18th, 1950, Oscar Rodas called me to his home.

Q. Who is Oscar Rodas? Tell us, please, again. A. He was the organizational secretary for this new section, upper east side section.

12159 Q. What transpired at this meeting? A. He told me that the Communist Party was establishing an underground apparatus and would have a reserve leadership, and I was to be one of those reserves, that I was bound to the decision that I must not contact any Communist Party members, attend any Communist meetings, or to contact anyone who might be labeled a Communist, and that I should wait further orders and directives from some Party leadership.

Q. What was the date that you were told this by Oscar Rodes? A. October, I am sure it was the 18th, 1950.

Q. Have you since that date functioned as a part of the reserve leadership by staying away from Communist Party functions and Party members? A. With one exception, I have.

Q. This last meeting was held in October 1950. Have you since attended any functions or meeting when other members of the Communist Party were also in attendance? A. No, with one exception.

Q. What is that exception? A. That I attended a baby shower for Stephanie Allen in March 1951.

Q. Where was that baby shower held? A. It was 12160 held at Ike Greenberg's home on the West Side of the city.

Q. Were there other members of the Communist Party present there? A. Yes, there were.

Q. As a result of your attendance in March 1951 at this baby shower did anything happen? A. Just a few days later I was sharply criticized by Oscar.

Q. When you say sharply criticized, tell us exactly what happened? A. He telephoned me and said he was surprised that a person of my integrity had not abided by Party decisions by remaining away from Communist gatherings. He said that he hoped in the future I would abide by that decision.

Q. After this incident of the baby shower has any member or functionary of the Communist Party contacted you?

A. Yes. Immediately following my meeting with Oscar in his home the latter part of October, I was contacted.

12161 Q. October, what year is that? A. That would be in 1940, immediately following my meeting with Oscar.

Q. But before the shower? A. Yes.

Q. You said the baby shower was held in March. A. 1951.

Q. This incident is in April, did you say? A. No, the latter part of October.

Q. 1950? A. Yes.

Q. Now tell us what happened.

THE WITNESS: Did I misunderstand you?

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. Yes, you did misunderstand, but give us this incident that took place in October 1950. A. The latter part 12162 of October 1950 I was called by a member of the Civil Rights Congress to participate in some typing.

Q. Who was this member of the Civil Rights Congress?

A. Esther Boskey.

Q. Spell that name, please. A. B-o-s-k-e-y.

Q. Were you a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

A. I was.

Q. When did you join the Civil Rights Congress? A. Some time of 1947.

Q. Will you give us the circumstances under which you joined the Civil Rights Congress? A. Yes. I was approached by Faye Gingold Grossman, the office secretary for district 7, to join this organization, and she gave me an application at that time.

12163 Q. Let's clear up the record. By whom were you asked to join the Civil Rights Congress? A. By Faye Gingold Grossman, the District 7 secretary.

Q. When were you asked to join the Civil Rights Congress? A. Some time in 1947.

Q. As a result of that request did you join the Civil Rights Congress? A. I did.

Q. Did you attend any meetings of the Civil Rights Congress? A. Yes, I did.

12164 Q. On the occasion of your attendance at these meetings did you see other members of the Communist Party there?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I did.

Q. Directing your attention to the phone call made by Esther Boskey in October of 1950, will you please tell us the substance of your telephone conversation with her?

A. Yes. She asked that I assist at the Civil Rights Congress office doing some typing for George Crockett.

Q. As a result of that request did you do any typing for George Crockett? A. No, I told her I would let her know later, and I checked with Oscar Rodes.

Q. When you say checked, what did you do, actually?

A. I went and called him.

Q. Oscar Rodes? A. Yes.

Q. What did you say to Oscar Rodes? A. I asked him if I could assist with this typing, and he absolutely forbade me.

Q. He told you not to? A. Yes.

12165 Q. Did you? A. No.

Q. At this time you were underground? A. That is right.

Q. After the incident of the baby shower which was held in March of 1951 did any official or leader of the Communist Party contact you? A. Yes, in about June of 1951.

12166 Q. Who contacted you? A. Oscar Rodes contacted me.

Q. What was his position in the Party at that time? A. He was still to my knowledge organizational secretary for the upper east side.

Q. You were still a member of the Communist Party? A. Yes.

Q. Where did he contact you? A. At my home.

Q. What was the substance of the conversation between you and Oscar Rodes? A. He said that he was being forced to move and that he had a large box of Communist Party material and asked that I keep it in my home if I had a safe place to keep it.

Q. He said he had material, a large box of material. A. Yes.

Q. Did he tell you what kind of material it was? A. No, he didn't.

Q. Did he state why he wanted to put this box of material in your home? A. To keep it safe.

Q. To keep it safe. What did you say to him? A. I told him the only logical place I could think of would be in my attic. He said that would be fine.

Q. Did he state to you why it was necessary to 12167 keep this package of material safe.

Q. Did he tell you what the contents of the material was? A. He wanted it reserved. That is what he said. He wanted it kept safe and reserved in case the home should be searched.

Q. What kind of records were these? Do you know what kind of records they were? A. No, he didn't tell me.

Q. Did he put those records in your home? A. He started to.

Q. What happened? Tell us exactly what happened. A. He went to the car and struggled with this large box and walked a couple of feet and returned to the car and came in very agitated. He said that a big black car had gone by with two gentlemen sitting in it, and he didn't wish to leave the box. It looked suspicious.

Q. So he did not store that package of material your house, is that so? A. That is right.

Q. Now, Mrs. Baldwin, I direct your attention to the period of time between 1946-1949, when you assisted 12168 district headquarters in registering members and collecting dues. During that period of time were any changes made in the method of recording membership and dues? A. Yes, there were.

Q. What changes were made, and when? A. Beginning with 1948 we were told that no records were to be kept of individual members—

THE WITNESS: And that club payments, dues payments, were recorded and handed in to the District 7 headquarters as a whole. In other words, we turned the money in for the number of members paying and the months they were paying for. Once in a while when we would have a recruit we would hand in pertinent information as to the race, the type of work he did, and the age,

B. MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. Was a record kept of the membership by names? **A.** No. We used a score card.

Q. How long was that procedure for keeping records continued? **A.** Until now, to my knowledge.

• • • • •
12186 **Q.** Did you attend a meeting where there was a discussion in regard to the dissolution of the Communist Political Association? **A.** I did.

Q. Approximately when was that meeting held? **A.** It was approximately June 1, 1945.

Q. Who was the main speaker at that meeting? **A.** Carl Winter.

12187 **Q.** What was the subject of his talk? **A.** He said that we had been assembled for the purpose of discussing the Duclos article, Jacques Duclos' article, the French Communist Party.

Q. Was there a discussion of the Duclos article at that meeting? **A.** Yes, there was.

Q. Will you give us the substance of the discussion at that meeting that you attended? **A.** He wanted the membership to go on the theory that it was not Jack Duclos' own viewpoint—

• • • • •
12188 **Q.** Tell us as near as possible what was said at that meeting in regard to the Duclos article. **A.** Carl Winter said that the words of Jack Duclos in that article were not his own viewpoint but—

Q. When you say "his own"— A. Jacques Duclos' own viewpoint.

Q. But what? A. But it was rather the European Communists' viewpoint of the American Communist Party, and that the Daily Worker in several days hence would carry a resolution on the task of the Communist Party Political Association.

Q. Thereafter did an article appear in the Daily Worker concerning the Duclos article and the next tasks of the Communist Political Association? A. Yes.

12213 Q. Mrs. Baldwin, I show you Government's Exhibit which has been identified as No. 395, which purports to be a discussion outline of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Exhibit 395(a), which appears to be a handwritten note addressed to Toby dated 6-20—the other numeral is obliterated—49. I ask you whether or not you have ever seen that discussion outline and this note. Can you identify those two documents for us? A. Yes, I can.

Q. First, what purports to be the discussion outline, where did you see that? A. The stencils were brought in to the District 7 headquarters and left with this note from Ann Cook giving me instructions as to running this off on the mimeograph machine.

Q. So you ran this outline on the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the mimeograph machine, is that right? A. Yes, I did.

12214 Q. What use was made of this outline? A. I ran several copies off, and they were to be used in the course on the history of the CPSU. They are instructors' guides and questions.

Q. Instructors' questions? A. Yes.

Q. What use was to be made by the instructors of these questions?

THE WITNESS: They were used in the discussion of the course.

By MR. DeNUNZIO:

Q. During the time that you attended classes in which this course was taught did your instructor use this outline?

A. She did.

12215 By MR. DeNUNZIO:

Q. I don't know whether you have testified to this already or not. When was this outline mimeographed by you? A. This was mimeographed by me some time in June of 1949.

Q. For use in class? A. Prior to the starting of the fall term, yes.

12229 Q. Did you use any textbooks while you attended the last two schools? A. Yes.

Q. Will you please tell us what textbooks you used? A. We used the main textbook, which was the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." We also used Foundations of Leninism by Stalin. We used Leninism by Stalin and "What is to be Done."

12244 Q. Mrs. Baldwin, I show you Petitioner's Exhibit which has been identified as No. 398, which purports to be a pamphlet, booklet entitled "Background of the Berlin Crisis, a Speakers' Guide, Issued by National Educational Department, Communist Party, 35 East 12th Street, New York City," and I ask you whether or not you can identify that booklet for us. A. Yes, I can.

Q. When did you last see that booklet? A. District 7 headquarters.

Q. Did you have a copy of it? A. I did.

12245 Q. Where did you get it? A. It was in my mail box at the headquarters office.

Q. Who put it in your mail box? A. The office receptionist.

Q. For what purpose was it put in your box?

THE WITNESS: Yes, all speakers' guides and anything of an educational nature was left for the office personnel and all club functionaries, all the leadership.

By MR. DENUNZIO:

Q. What use did you make of this pamphlet? A. This pamphlet was left so that I would have the correct answers for any question that might arise under the Berlin crisis.

12283 Q. Mrs. Baldwin, as a result of your membership in the Communist Party and as a result of your attendance at Party Schools and various meetings and lectures held by the Communist Party in District No. 7, what is your understanding of the aims and objectives of the
12284 Communist Party of the United States?

THE WITNESS: During the period I was in the Communist Party, the schools I attended, through those I was taught that socialism was the ultimate goal of the Communist Party of America, and that imperialism must be overruled, and since the American imperialists were the leading imperialists, they must be liquidated.

12296. CROSS EXAMINATION

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

12440 Q. After October 18, 1950, you stopped being active in the Communist Party, is that correct? A. Yes.

Q. That was a result of a conversation you say you had with Oscar Rodes? A. Yes.

Q. Will you tell us again just what that conversation was, what you said and what he said? A. He told me that

the Party was establishing a reserve leadership. In other words, it was an underground apparatus. That they would want a reserve leadership in case the present leaders would be picked up or jailed, and that this reserve leadership would become inactive, and I was one. I was not to contact Party members, not to associate with Party members or to attend any meetings or to associate myself with any one who could be labeled a communist, and that I was to wait further word from the leadership as to my activity.

12521 Q. All right, coming back to the June meeting, how long did Carl Winter speak? A. I couldn't tell you exactly in minutes.

Q. Do you recall what he said. A. Yes.

Q. Would you say he spoke an hour or a half hour? Can you give us any idea at all? A. Oh, I would say 15 or 20 minutes.

Q. All right. Will you tell us what he said? A. During that period he touched lightly on the Yalta and Teheran agreements, and then he went into the Duclos article, stating that this was not the viewpoint of the French Party, it was not Duclos' own viewpoint of the French Party of the American Party, but it was European Communists' viewpoint of the American Communist Party.

12690 John Edward Janowitz called as a witness for Petitioner, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By MR. PAISLEY:

12727 Q. Mr. Janowitz, during your membership in the Communist Party Reliance Club did you pay dues?

A. I have paid dues.

Q. How were they collected? A. They were collected by the Secretary of the Club.

Q. When? At the club meetings? A. At the club meetings at different intervals. They were supposed to be collected at every meeting, but, sometimes they wouldn't be collected at one meeting and they would be collected at another meeting.

Q. Is this method still in use? A. The method is still in use, except that it is modified from what it was before, where we received a stamp years ago to show our membership paid up. Then in 1949 we did not receive any stamps or anything, or did not receive any books. All we did was receive a receipt for our membership. Later on in 1950 we did not even receive a receipt for our dues.

Q. Do you remember a meeting in the home of Charlie Eimer, secretary of the club, some time around 1949 12728 when the subject of membership dues was discussed? A. That is correct.

Q. Did anybody make any statement about it? A. I believe it was 1949 the discussion was that for security reasons there wouldn't be any stamps given out, that all we would do was pay dues and get a receipt, and when we received the receipt we tore it up. Then later on in 1950 we got away from that, and then it was decided that we would not pay dues even in that manner, we would be paying dues and each member was assigned a number, and the dues would be credited to that number.

Q. Were you given a number? A. I was given a number then. I was given No. 4, I believe.

Q. To whom did you pay your dues after you were assigned a number? A. To Charles Eimer, the secretary of the club.

Q. What kind of record would he keep of your membership? A. That I don't know. All I know is that when we paid our dues, I think it was 20 cents would be reverted back to the club and from that 20 cents material would be bought, that is, party material would be bought and distributed.

Q. When was the last time you paid your dues? A. I think in September 1951.

12729 Q. For what period of time would that cover?

A. We have always paid—I paid most of my dues on a three-month basis. That would probably cover—well, let's say, August, September, and October, probably. I don't remember what it would cover, but I know I paid my dues then.

12731 Q. Mr. Janowitz, I hand you a document a photostat of which has been marked Petitioner's Exhibit 412, which purports to be an issue of For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy, Friday, March 10, 1950. Have you ever seen it before? A. This was given to me by Martin Chancey at Charley Eimer's house at a meeting in April 1950.

Q. You say in April. A. In April, yes.

Q. Did you receive any other document at that time?

A. Yes, there was another pamphlet I received at that time.

Q. Do you remember what it was? A. I believe it was New—I can't remember the name right offhand.

Q. Do you remember seeing the document I place before you? A. Yes, I received that New Times at the same time.

MR. PAISLEY: Mark that please.

(Document produced and marked for identification Petitioner's Exhibit 413.)

MR. PAISLEY: The issue of New Times has been marked Petitioner's Exhibit 413.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. Is that your handwriting up there or whose handwriting is that? A. That is my handwriting.

Q. What, if anything, did Chancey say about these documents? A. Just what he always said: Read it, study it, and pass it on.

Q. Did he say that just to you or to others? A. No, everybody. Every time we got any literature that was what was said.

12755 Q. Mr. Janowitz, do you know a man by the name of Sam Reed? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did he have any position in the Communist Party out there in Cleveland? A. He attended all the meetings and to me he was known as the labor party chairman of Cuyahoga County, the labor representative of the party in Cuyahoga County.

Q. Of the Communist Party? A. Of the Communist Party.

12756 Q. Do you recall when you last saw Sam Reed? A. The last I saw Sam Reed was June 22, 1951.

Q. Can you recall where it was and the circumstances? A. That was at James Marino's home.

Q. In Cleveland? A. In Cleveland.

Q. Do you recall who were present? A. Present at that meeting was Charles Eimer, myself, James Marino, and Sam Reed.

Q. Was it a party meeting? A. It was a party meeting.

Q. Who was in charge? Who acted as the chairman? A. Sam Reed took charge of that meeting.

Q. Did he make any statements to you men assembled there? A. Yes. He said that the Party was going underground and that any books lying around loose should be put away and stored in storehouses, warehouses if there were too many of them, and that nobody was to call any Party functionaries on the telephone at any time and that no more than two of the group shall meet at any time. He said that if he was to be arrested, somebody else was being groomed to take his position.

Q. Did he say anything about the Daily Worker? 12757 A. Yes. He said that there would be no subscriptions taken or anything, and that the Party members should get active in church groups and everything and just carry on from there as such and not meet more than two at a time, and not to meet at any Party member's homes at all.

12758 Q. Mr. Janowitz, in view of that objection do you recall whether or not Reed gave you men any reason for this action that was contemplated? A. He said for security reasons the Party was going underground. Those were the reasons that were given.

Q. Have you attended any Communist Party conventions? A. Yes. I attended one in 1950, state convention.

Q. Do you remember about what time of the year? 12759 A. I believe it was about the 17th of December.

Q. 1950? A. 1950.

Q. You say it was a state convention. A. That is right.

12760 Q. Do you recall any statements made at that time or speeches by Lumer? A. Some reports were given and Lumer gave a report on getting people to subscribe to the magazine, March of Labor. That was to be the number one job to be pushed through the unions and through the plants. There was more action taken there. I and Fred Haug were to represent the Party in going out and getting new members, and that was to be done by the other Party members giving us the names of people who were either interested or sympathetic to the Communist Party, and to go out and speak to them and try to convince them to join into the Party.

Q. You mean that they were wanting you to get new members for the Party or for the labor organization? A. That is right.

Q. For the Party? A. That is right.

12763 Q. You attended this convention as the alternate in the place of Helen Gallo, did you? A. That is correct.

Q. How did you know how to get to the place where it was held?

THE WITNESS: At this meeting on Saturday, the day before the convention, no one was given the address of that meeting and no one knew where that meeting was to be held. It was said that for security reasons the address would not be given, that the address would be given only at the time that the delegate was ready to go to the meeting and he would be taken there. The address was not given where this meeting was to be held.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. Do you recall where it was actually held? A. It was held at 112th and Buckeye at the Hungarian Workmen's Home.

Q. Were you given any instructions at that meeting as to how you were to learn where the place was and how you would get there? A. Saturday night after this meeting I was called by Sam Reed and he said that Helen Gallo, who was the delegate, could not attend, and that I was to meet him Sunday morning at 105th and Superior and he would take me to the meeting.

Q. Was it held on a Sunday? A. It was held on a Sunday.

Q. How long did it last? A. It lasted all day.

Q. About how many delegates were there? A. I would say about 60 delegates were there.

12789 Q. Do you know a person by the name of Sid Stein? A. Yes, I have met Sid Stein.

Q. When and where did you meet him? A. I met him in the spring of 1951 at James Marino's home.

Q. In Cleveland? A. In Cleveland, Ohio.

Q. What were the circumstances? A. The circumstances were a party meeting was called at Marino's home, and Sid Stein came into that meeting with Phil Frankfeld.

Q. What position did Frankfeld hold in the Party, if any? A. He was the chairman of the Party in Ohio at that time.

Q. Were others present? A. Present were myself, Herbert Hirschberg, James Marino, Sid Stein, Phil Frankfeld. There

were others that I don't remember now offhand.

Q. What transpired on this occasion? A. Sid Stein told us the part that labor had to do as leaders in labor organizations, that we, regardless of what happened, had our job to do, to go out there and do the job that was given us. He also raised the question that if the locals go what they call the right wing of the IUE we should do everything in our power to go ahead and get into the leadership of these locals; wherever IUE comes in, to strive and try to be elected to the elective offices in these locals in the IUE. He said he had already met some of the locals who had gone to the IUE and talked to these people, and that that was the number one job for the Party.

Q. What position, if any, did Stein hold in the Communist Party when he was telling you people that? A. Stein was the National Labor Organizer for the Communist Party.

Q. Where did he live, do you know? A. I don't know where he lived.

12791 Q. Was he a Cleveland man? A. To my knowledge, no.

Q. Mr. Janowitz, tell the Panel what the situation was at that time with reference to the IUE and the UE.

12792 A. There were some locals who had seceded from the UE and went to the IUE, and Sid Stein said that these Party members who were in the UE when the local had gone IUE should strive for positions of leadership in that local to carry out the Party's duties in those locals.

12799 Q. Have you ever seen Gerhard Eisler in this country? A. I have heard Gerhard Eisler speak once at a Civil Rights Congress in Cleveland.

Q. In Cleveland? A. At Cleveland Music Hall.

12800 Q. Was it in 1950? A. It could be 1949 or '50.

12812 Q. Mr. Janowitz, the question was, from your experience in the Party during this period of approximately eight years, what did you learn were the objectives of the Communist Party in the United States of America?

THE WITNESS: My observations were that the Communist Party is the vanguard and that Communism and capitalism can not live in this world, that capitalism must go, that the Communists who are the vanguards of the masses must take advantage of every opportunity that arises to lead the masses, whether it be through depressions or strikes or anything else, to be the leaders of any movement that

12813 unites the masses for that purpose.

By MR. PAISLEY:

Q. For what? A. For the purpose of getting rid of the capitalist system in America.

12818 Q. Mr. Janowitz, what did the Communists teach you that they would do when they were successful

12819 doing away with capitalism in this country? A. The answer is, to replace capitalism it would be replaced with communism.

CROSS EXAMINATION

By MR. MARCANTONIO:

12837 Q. The UE at that time was a CIO union, was it not? A. That is right.

Q. At that time it was the firm policy of the UE and the CIO to promote the winning of the war, wasn't it? A. That is true.

Q. As a matter of fact, the UE and the CIO had subscribed to the non-strike pledge for the duration of the war, had they not? A. And that was adhered to.

Q. At the time you became organizer you had no way of knowing whether or not you would ever be invited to join the Communist Party, did you? A. No.

Q. As a matter of fact, you did not join the Communist Party until August 1943, months afterwards? A. That is correct.

12992 Harvey M. Matusow called as a witness for Petitioner; having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By Mr. SHEEHAN

12993 Q. Can you tell the Panel under what circumstances you first became interested in the Communist Party? A. Through my contacts in the American Youth for Democracy, which I joined in 1946 there was some Communist Party members in that club Roosevelt, the American Youth for Democracy, which I was a member of. One Jules Sheik was a member of the Party, and during the late spring and summer of 1947 invited me to join the Communist Party. However, I didn't do so at the time.

13005 Q. Mr. Matusow, did you have any part in the arranging of meeting places for Party meetings during the time you were a member?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I did. When I was operating the switchboard at the New York County headquarters of the Communist Party, 35 East 12th Street, on more than one occasion either Ernie Parent, Joe Bucholt, B-u-c-h-o-l-t, who was then one of the State officers of the New York County Youth Commission of the Communist Party, would ask me to contact one of two people, either Art Saha, S-a-h-a, or Jack Walkenstein, W-a-l-k-e-n-s-t-e-i-n, contact either of those two people for the purpose of obtaining their apart-

ment on the East Side of New York for meetings to be held by the Communist Party Youth Commission, and I 13006 complied with that. As I say, on more than one occasion I received the key to either one of those apartments and made arrangements for certain members of the Youth Commission to get to the meeting place. I was also instructed to tell either Mr. Saha or Walkenstein that they were not to be present in their homes during a specified period of time.

Q. Will you tell us who Mr. Saha was? A. At that time Mr. Saha was the section organizer for the East Side section of the Communist Party, Youth Section of the Communist Party.

Q. Who was Mr. Walkenstein? A. He was the Chairman of the Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know how long these meetings took place in this manner while you were a member of the Communist Party?

13007 THE WITNESS: During the period 1949 and as late as December 1950.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. How do you know that the meetings took place during that period? A. I was at Mr. Saha's place in December of 1950 just after the adjournment of one of these meetings. I was told by Mr. Saha that the meeting had just concluded.

Q. Mr. Matúrow, were you told the reason for keeping these meetings secret?

13008 Q. Were you told the reason for keeping these meetings secret?

MR. ABT: I object.

MR. BROWN: Overruled. You may answer.

13009 THE WITNESS: Yes. There were certain people

who were in youth organizations that were not Communist youth organizations whose identity was to be kept secret, that is, their party membership was to be kept secret. Also, the purpose of the meetings away from Communist Party headquarters was that they did not want to hold these meetings because they felt that there was wire tapping and other means of surveillance on the meetings and that by holding the meeting away from Communist Party headquarters they could keep their business and the identities of those present unknown, in that one case it was told to me, to the FBI.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Mr. Matusow, did you arrange for meetings in any other manner than the manner which you have described?

A. Yes. When I was working for the Communist Party County Headquarters as switchboard operator on more than one occasion I was informed by Mr. Parent, whom I have mentioned before, and Mr. Buchold, to obtain a meeting hall in one of the many places where you could rent meeting halls, such as the Malan Studios, in New York City, for the purpose of a Communist Party meeting, but I was to tell them that it was for some group which never existed, to use some name that we just made up at the time rather than Communist Party Youth Commission or Communist Party leadership meeting.

13010 Q. When you were working in the New York County office of the Communist Party did you have any knowledge of how correspondence was kept there? A. In 1949 when I was working there a system of burning messages was instituted, in that on every desk in the County office a tin can was kept and any messages that had names, addresses or phone numbers on it were burned right after they were read.

Q. Do you know how long this took place while you were a member of the Party? A. In January 1951 during the

hearings for my expulsion from the Communist Party I observed Joe Buchold, who was one of the people conducting the interrogation, burning messages by the same procedure that I have just mentioned. He had a tin can on his desk, and he kept burning them.

Q. Do you know Clara March Lester? A. Yes, I do. She was county membership director of the New York County Communist Party when I worked there in 1949.

Q. Did you have any official contact with her? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Do you recall any specific contact you had with her?

A. It wasn't specific. In April 1949 I was at the 13011 switchboard at the County Headquarters. She came down to the office and told me if I had any address books, any names, phone numbers, personal stuff, that I was to burn it or destroy it right then and there, and that we would not carry any names or addresses around with us at Communist Party national headquarters or county headquarters.

Q. Did she tell you why these instructions were given?

A. Just that in case I was ever picked up by the police or anybody I would not be in a position to jeopardize any of the other members of the Party and let their names and addresses be known.

Q. Now, I would like to direct your attention back to the year 1948. Was there any change in the organizational set-up of your Communist Party clubs at that time? A. Yes, there was. In September 1948 at the Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Communist Party instructions came down from the county office that we were to establish a group system in the club rather than hold meetings of—I believe our membership was then 36 people, of all 36 people. We would hold group meetings of between three and five people. Each member of the executive committee plus a few designated group leaders would head specific groups, and people in the group would know only their group leader or the other group leaders, but were not to know who the other members of the

13012 Party were who were not serving in the capacity of group leader.

13013 Q. Regarding the Labor Youth League, do you know when it was organized and the circumstances surrounding the organization?

THE WITNESS: The Labor Youth League was organized in Chicago on Memorial Day week-end in 1949.

13014 By Mr. SHEEHAN:

Q. How did you know about the organization? A. I was a charter member of the Labor Youth League. I joined it in June 1949. Prior to that in meetings of the Communist Party Youth Clubs and Youth Sections in New York County we discussed the necessity for building a new Marxist-Leninist youth group along the lines of the old Young Communist League, and the decision we discussed on the basis of an article that had appeared, a report given to the 14th Convention of the Communist Party in 1948. For a period of months from December 1948 to May 1949 we discussed the setting up of a new Marxist-Leninist Youth Organization, which was the Labor Youth League.

Q. Were you told by any officials anything about how the name Labor Youth League was chosen for the organization?

THE WITNESS: Yes. When I was on the New York State Executive Committee of the Labor Youth League, serving as a literature director, in meetings with Leon Wofsy, who was Chairman of the Labor Youth League, and Chairman of the National Youth Commission of the Communist Party, Julian Lowitt, Lou Diskin, and Joe Buchold, I was told in these meetings that the reason Labor Youth League was chosen as the name rather than Young Communist League because they said if we left the name Communist out of the name of the organization we would be less

subject to prosecution under the Smith Act or any future legislation. They told me at these meetings that the reason we left the name Communist out of it was that we wanted to avoid any prosecution in the future.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Did you hold any offices in the Labor Youth League? A. Yes. I was the first state literature director of the New York State Labor Youth League and served as acting national literature director because they didn't have one, and at that time was on the New York State Educational Committee of the Labor Youth League and the New York State Executive Committee of the Labor Youth League. That was from September 1949 to January 1950.

Q. What were your duties as literature director? A. To disseminate literature put out, distributed by the Labor Youth League to the membership in conjunction with the educational program.

Q. Do you know where the literature came from that you disseminated? A. Yes. The Communist Party Wholesale Book Corporation, its distributing house, at 35 East 12th Street, gave us a \$500 credit for literature to be purchased from them, literature from International and New Century Publishers.

13016 Q. Did you have any duties on the educational committee of the Labor Youth League? A. Yes. I did. That was in the preparation of study outlines for the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist study outlines to the membership, and my specific duty was to prepare bibliographies of reading material, such as we set up a program of a book of the month in the League. In October 1949 our book of the month was the "Twilight of World Capitalism," by William Z. Foster. In November of 1949 our book was "The Tasks of Youth," by Stalin. In December it was "The Young Generation," by Lenin. Those are the only three titles I remember at this time, but that book of the month was carried forward.

Q. Did your duties there have any connection with labor youth league rallies that were held from time to time, if there were any such rallies? A. One in particular was on November 19, 1949, at the Hotel Capitol, in New York, where it was a general membership meeting of the League. We set up a literature table there and sold a great deal of literature to the membership, the three books I have mentioned plus others. At all county and state affairs of the Labor Youth League literature tables were set up ahead of the meeting for distribution.

Q. Mr. Matusow, you testified you were a member of several Communist Party Youth Clubs. You were also a member of the Labor Youth League. Did you hold membership in these clubs and the Labor Youth League at the same time?

A. Well, I maintained membership in the Communist Party until January 1951, but when the Labor Youth League was formed the plan was, and it was carried out, to disband all the Communist Party youth clubs, transfer all the members of the Communist Party Youth clubs into the Labor Youth League in that same area. The members who were transferred to the Labor Youth League would be assigned to Communist Party community clubs for administrative purposes, that is, dues paying purposes. Their Communist Party leadership and Marxist education was obtained in the Labor Youth League.

Q. Did you in your position on the educational committee receive any orders to carry out policies of the Communist Party?

THE WITNESS: Yes, we did. At meetings of the executive committee of the Labor Youth League. Sam Engler, E-n-g-l-e-r, for instance, who was the New York State Educational Director of the Labor Youth League, was also a member of the New York State Educational Committee of the Communist Party, and would receive material and information at the New York State Educational Committee of the Communist Party meetings, and disseminate those to the Educa-

tional Directors of the Labor Youth League, who in turn would set up the Educational program as it was set up at the Communist Party. For certain political action Joe Buchold and Lou Diskin, who were the two state leaders of the Labor Youth League, who I worked with, attended meetings of the New York State Executive Committee of the Communist Party, and would receive instructions as to political action to be taken by the Labor Youth League. They would in turn disseminate these instructions to use at the Executive Committee meetings and to the various county organizations.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Do you know if there was any relation between the labor youth League and the Communist Party of the United States?

THE WITNESS: Yes, there was. The leaders of the Labor Youth League that I have just mentioned, Leon Wofsy, the Chairman of the Communist Party Youth Commission, was chairman of the Labor Youth League. Lou Diskin, who was Chairman of the New York State Communist Party Youth movement, was Chairman of the New York State Labor Youth League. Ernie Parent, who was New York County Youth Organizer for the Communist Party, became the first county organizer of the Labor Youth League. Art Saha, who was New York County Educational Director of the Communist Party Youth group, became the New York County Educational Director of the Labor Youth League. At its inception in 1949 all the leaders of the Communist Party Youth movement in New York just transferred to the Labor Youth League and held corresponding positions and did receive their instructions from the Communist Party. I also was a member of the Communist Party and just moved to the Labor Youth League. There was no divorcement.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. You mentioned the World Federation of Democratic Youth previously in your testimony. What relation, if any, did the Labor Youth League have to this organization?

.....

THE WITNESS: The Labor Youth League was one of the organizations in the United States that was part of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. When I was literature director of the Labor Youth League in New York State we published material that we received from the World Federation of Democratic Youth. We stated that we were affiliated with that organization. Our members wore their buttons—

.....

13021 THE WITNESS: I believe the members of the League did wear the membership button of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

.....

13022 Q. The question is: Do you know if the World Federation of Democratic Youth had any relations with the Communist Information Bureau? A. In 1949 at a meeting of the New York State Executive Committee of the Labor Youth League Lou Diskin gave a report on the meetings he had held in Budapest, Hungary, with certain people in the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and also of meetings he held with J. Peters in Budapest in 1949. He had gone there to attend the World Youth Festival, conducted by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and stayed in Budapest to deliver some reports on the American Youth Movement to that group, to the Cominform representatives, he stated, and later reported back to us that he had held these meetings.

.....

13023 Q. Did you have anything to do with the sales of the Sunday Worker during your period in the Party, Mr. Matusow? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Will you tell us what your work consisted of in this regard? A. In 1949, from September 1949 I became the press director of the Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Communist Party, and in that job processed subscriptions to the Sunday Worker that were obtained by members of the club. On many occasions there were members who had bought subscriptions to the Sunday Worker, which were processed by me, who did not want the paper going to their homes. They received the paper by having the subscription sent to the section headquarters of the Communist Party, and on Sunday morning those papers were hand delivered to these individuals.

Q. How do you know the papers were hand delivered to the individuals? A. On more than one occasion I took part in the delivery.

Q. Do you know why they did not want their identity known? A. The reason for it was that they stated that in the event of the passage of the Mundt bill or any legislation against the Communist Party it would be better if their identity were not known, so they could continue to work as Communists.

Q. Do you know how long this method of delivery prevailed while you were in the Party? A. My last personal contact with that method of delivery was in December 1950.

Q. I direct your attention to July of 1949. Will you tell the Panel what your job in the Party was at that time? A. In July of 1949 I was the manager of the Camp Unity bookshop at Camp Unity, in Wingdale, New York.

Q. Were there any Communist Party meetings held there? A. Yes, there were.

Q. Did you attend these meetings? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Were these meetings open to all the personnel at the camp? A. All Communist Party members who were employed at the camp.

Q. Were they open to persons other than Communist Party members? A. No, they were not.

13025 Q. Were any other people besides the guests of

the camp present on the camp grounds at any time?

A. No.

Q. Were any measures taken to see that no other people were present on the grounds? A. Yes, there were. There was a security setup initiated in the summer of 1949 whereby the male Communist Party members at the camp throughout the night toured regular shifts of guard duty at various places in the camp to see that nobody obtained entrance to the grounds who was not a guest at the camp. The reasons given were that we did not want anybody present who might identify certain people as having been at the camp and obtaining license plate numbers of cars, and the like.

Q. I would like to call your attention to the summer of 1950. Did you at this time contemplate a transfer of your membership between clubs of the Communist Party? A. Yes, I did.

Q. What transfer did you contemplate? A. I had obtained a job in Los Angeles, California, and contemplated transfer from New York to Los Angeles. I had contacted Joe Buchhold, who was the acting state chairman of the Labor Youth League at the time, and told him about it, and he informed me that I would have to make arrangements for my transfer at the County Headquarters of the Communist Party. He accompanied me to the County Headquarters, where I was given a serial number from a dollar bill which I had, and gave that serial number to the security officer there. I didn't know his name at that time. I was told that when I got to California I would contact a certain person, and that serial number would match with one which that person had received and that would identify me as the correct person being transferred.

Q. Do you recall the last time that you had any contact with this procedure for transferring membership?

THE WITNESS: Yes. In December and January 1950 I had returned from New Mexico. I had never gotten to California. While in New Mexico, I requested that my member-

ship be transferred to New Mexico. I contacted Joe Buchhold and asked him whether or not I was to use that same number in getting my transfer to New Mexico. He stated that they were investigating some discrepancies, as he put it, in my activities, and I would just hold on to it.

Q. Did he give any indication that this procedure was still being used at this time? A. He stated it was, but that the number I had, just hold on to the number, and if I were cleared, continue to use it, and if I were expelled 13027 from the Party, as he intimated, forget about it.

13029 Q. Do you know Mr. Ben Bordofsky? A. Yes, I do.

Q. Who is he? A. He was the manager of Wholesale Book Corporation at 48 East 13th Street. When I knew him he was state literature director of the Communist Party, New York State.

Q. Did you have any business contact with him? A. Yes, I did, when I was an employee of the Jefferson Bookshop and Workers Bookshop and the Camp Unity Bookshop, I was employed by Mr. Bordofsky.

Q. What relations, if any, did the bookshops that you have referred to have to the Wholesale Book Corporation? A. They were run by the Wholesale Book Corporation, and all checks and finance transactions that the bookshops conducted had to be approved and signed by Mr. Bordofsky.

Q. Before the recess you identified, Mr. Matusow, 13030 a Mr. Ben Bordofsky. Did you ever have any business contacts with him? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did he ever talk with you regarding how he received books from the Wholesale Book Corporation? A. Yes, he did.

Q. Will you tell us what he said and when and where? A. At the office of Wholesale Book Corporation on more than one occasion Mr. Bordofsky stated he had received copies of the newspaper For a Lasting Peace, for a People's

Democracy; New Times, a weekly news magazine published in the Soviet Union; copies of Soviet Literature, a cultural publication published in the Soviet Union.

Q. What I am getting at is how they were received, that is, by what means they were transported, how they were paid for, if they were, or what.

THE WITNESS: Mr. Bordofsky stated that these publications were received without cost except for certain duties that had to be paid when they came through customs.

MR. MARCANTONIO: May we have when and where that conversation was held, Mr. Chairman?

MR. BROWN: Yes, surely. When and where was 13031 this held?

THE WITNESS: The conversation was held in the fall of 1949 when I was an employee of the Workers Bookshop and of Mr. Bordofsky. It was held on the fourth floor of the Communist Party headquarters in New York, which was the office of the Wholesale Book Corporation, of which Mr. Bordofsky was the head.

By MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Did you discuss the receipt of books from the Soviet Union with any other officials whose duties had to do with the receipt of books? A. Yes, I did.

Q. With whom did you discuss it? A. During the same period of time at the same office, the Wholesale Book Corporation, I discussed the question of books being received from the Soviet Union with Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg, who at that time was head of International Publishers and the over-all boss of the Wholesale Book Corporation and the book shops. He told me that for certain books they had received plates, book plates and English translations of books from the Soviet Union, as well as on more 13032 than one occasion they had received the actual page proofs for the pages for a book, which International Publishers only put the binding on. One he referred to in

particular was the Selected Works of Lenin, one edition of the Selected Works of Lenin.

Q. You said they received the plates and translations, I believe. A. That is correct.

Q. I didn't get this. Did he mention how these were paid for, if they were? A. There again any duties that had to be paid through customs were the only cost for these translations and plates.

MR. ABT: Mr. Chairman, I move to strike that conversation on the grounds again it is complete hearsay.

MR. BROWN: Motion denied.

MR. SHEEHAN:

Q. Is this the same Alexander Trachtenberg who is now under indictment in New York under the Smith Act? A. It is.

Q. I direct your attention to the year 1949. Do you recall discussing any trips abroad with any Party officers at that time? A. Yes, when I was an employee of the Workers Bookshop I discussed with Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn the trip she had just taken to France to attend the 80th Birthday

Party for Marcel Cachin, I believe it is C-a-c-h-i-n, 13033 a French Communist leader. In the course of conversation at the bookshop she told of a meeting she had held with other Communist Party members of European countries at this affair in Paris.

Q. Did she say what was discussed at this affair, in meeting with other members? A. The question of Party organization and the question of, again I use the quote, the imperialist war being started by the United States, unquote, and what to do about it, what the role of the American Communist Party is in that question.

Q. Did you discuss with any other officers of the Party any trips abroad? A. I have mentioned previously having heard a report by Lou Diskin, the State Chairman of the Labor Youth League on his meeting in Budapest, Hungary, with various Communist Party people, one J. Peters, and leaders of the Communist Youth movement in Hungary and other European countries.

Q. Do you recall when you heard about this trip? A. Upon Mr. Diskin's return to the United States in the fall of 1949.

Q. Where did that conversation take place? A. At a meeting held in the office of the Labor Youth League at 799 Broadway, New York City.

Q. Did Mr. Diskin state what was the purpose for 13034 his going abroad at that time? A. The purpose of his going abroad was to attend the World Youth Festival held in Budapest, Hungary, in 1949 after the festival to have certain discussions with Party leaders over there as to the role of the American Communist movement.

Q. Do you recall discussing the attendance at Communist Party schools abroad with fellow Party members?

THE WITNESS: Yes. With one Art Saha, who had been very active in the Finnish movement of the Communist Party. He told me he had been recommended to attend a Communist Party leadership school in Helsinki, Finland. This was in September 1948, and he said he had been recommended—I didn't get the last name, but it was Carl, the head of the Finnish movement in the New York area of the Communist Party. In 1950 again Mr. Saha said he had been recommended to go to that school. That was in December 1950.

Q. Did he tell you in your discussions with him what was the purpose of the school operated in Finland? A. 13035. He stated that it was a leadership training school for Communist Party members, a Finnish Communist Party school, but the purpose of the attendance of an American Communist was to prepare them for work in Finnish Concentrations, organizational work in the Party among the Finnish nationals in the United States.

Q. I direct your attention to the summer of 1950. Will you tell the Panel what you were doing at that time? A. In July of 1950 I left New York and established residence in New Mexico, Taos, New Mexico, and in July was a guest at the San Cristobal Valley ranch at Taos, New Mexico.

Q. Do you recall any of the activities that went on at the ranch? Did you take part in any meetings there? A. Yes, I did. While in Taos, New Mexico, I was a member of what was called AMNA, American Mexican National Association, as well as the Communist Party; and the San Cristobal Valley Ranch was the center of these activities. I had been invited to go to the ranch by Mrs. Jennie Wells Vincent, who I had met in New York the preceding years.

Q. Can you tell us about any of the meetings, any discussions that were held at this ranch? A. Yes. One in particular on August 7, 8, 1950, conducted by Clint Jencks, who was an officer in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers 13036 Union.

Q. Do you know anything more about Mr. Jencks? A. Mr. Jencks was identified to me as a member of the Communist Party—I attended meetings with him at the ranch—and as an officer in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, out of Silver City, New Mexico.

Q. You say that he gave lectures at the ranch, is that right? A. He did lecture on the dates of August 7 and 8.

Q. What was the subject of his lectures, if you recall? A. The question of what would be the role of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in the event of any conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union or any—again quote—imperialist war, unquote, and that the role of the union would be, where possible, to slow down production of basic metals and slow down the smelter plants processing copper and zinc ore that came out of the area down there, that they were making plans for just such an eventuality.

13046 Q. Mr. Matusow, I show you a copy of Political Affairs for September 1948, specifically the article entitled "For a Fighting Party Rooted Among the Industrial Workers," by Henry Winston, commencing on page 834 and ending on page 856. This has been marked for identification as Petitioner's Exhibit No. 418. This is stated to be a report to the convention on the organizational and ideo-

logical tasks of the CPUSA. I ask you if you have ever seen that article before. A. I have.

Q. Have you read that article? A. I have.

Q. Did you have a copy of it in your possession at any time? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Was it used in any Communist Party discussions? A. It was used in discussions at the Ray Friedlander Youth Club of the Communist Party in October and November of 1949. It was the basis for discussion of the tasks of the Party.

Q. You say that was used in October 1949? A. Pardon me, 1948, I am sorry.

MR. SHEEHAN: Mr. Chairman, we would like at this time to offer this exhibit in evidence as Petitioner's Ex-13047 hibit No. 418.

MR. ABT: What is the number?

MR. SHEEHAN: Exhibit 418.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to emphasize certain parts of this article, specifically page 839, in the right-hand column the first sentence of the third full paragraph, which reads: "The central task before the Party is the fight for shifting the main base of our party to the working class. This can not be done unless we turn the face of the entire party to workers in the factories."

Again, on page 840, under the heading, "How to Apply the Concentration Policy," the first sentence of the second paragraph on that page: "First of all, it requires a fundamental understanding of the role of the workers in the basic industries in relation to the working class and life of the country as a whole."

Again, skipping one sentence, the third sentence in that paragraph: "One can not conceive of successfully building the Progressive Party, of organizing an effective fight against the Draft, or in defense of civil liberties, a successful fight against war and fascism, unless this section of the working class is fully mobilized."

The next two sentences I want to emphasize are the first two sentences of the next paragraph: "Secondly, 13048 such a policy requires the selection of the points of concentration where a base must be secured, if we are to set in motion the entire labor movement. This means knowing which districts must be given major national attention, which industries are key and what plants are decisive."

The right-hand column on the same page, the first full sentence in that column; "While we must strengthen the Party in all basic industries, we must particularly select for major concentration such industries as steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical, and railroad."

Finally on page 841 in the third full paragraph, the second sentence: "In practice we concerned ourselves much more with specific policy and tactical questions of the Unions, of relationship to top bodies, rather than to questions of building a base below to insure correct policies and tactics."

I would like to emphasize those portions of that article.

By Mr. SHEEHAN:

Q. Mr. Matusow, did you ever discuss this article with its author, Henry Winston? A. I did.

13049 Q. Did you ever discuss this article with its author, Mr. Henry Winston? A. I did.

Q. Will you tell us when and where? A. In December 1948 I had gone to Philadelphia to attend a meeting on press building, the question of subscriptions to the Sunday Worker. The main speaker at that meeting was Henry Winston. After the meeting Mr. Ben Simonowsky and Mr. Winston and myself returned to New York. In the course of 13050 the trip back to New York on the Pennsylvania Railroad, we discussed the article in question here.

Q. Will you tell us what he said about the article? A. He said that the question of industrial concentration and the movement of young people, members of the Communist Party youth movement, to basic industries was important

at this time because in the event of any, again quote, imperialist war, unquote, it would be necessary to have people in basic industries to mobilize the workers against this war in an effort to slow down production and to do whatever possible to see that such a, quote, unjust war, unquote, is not successful.

13052 Q. Mr. Matusow, are you acquainted with the non-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

A. I am.

Q. Did you discuss these requirements with members of the Party? A. I did.

Q. Will you tell us with whom, where and when? A. In the spring of 1948 and in the fall of 1949 I discussed the question of the non-Communist affidavit of the Taft-Hartley Act with one Aaron Kramer, an employee and officer of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, one Jack Greenspan, a business agent for one of the United Office and Professional Workers locals, one Ethel Beech, who was in charge of the union hiring hall of the United Office and Professional Workers Union on 29th Street, New York City.

Q. I believe it is clear. I asked you before if you discussed this with members of the Party. I want to make sure. Are these people members of the Party? A. Yes, they are.

13053 Q. Will you tell us what you were told in your discussions?

A. The Party decision that was discussed by the Party members that I have just mentioned was that in order to get around the provisions of the Taft-Hartley—

THE WITNESS: The first meeting was with Mr. Kramer at the office of the United Office and Professional Workers Union in May and early June of 1949, and with the same Mr.

Kramer when he was vacationing at Camp Unity 13054 in July of 1949. So the question of getting around, as he stated, the non-Communist provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act was that we could resign and the orders were to resign from the Communist Party; in the case of some of the very well known Communists who were in trade unions to have a public resignation, that is, published in the Daily Worker, but the only thing, as he stated, that ceased to be in existence was formal recognition of our membership in the Communist Party. We were still members of the Communist Party, but as I stated, a letter would be published saying you had resigned from the Communist Party. They still attended meetings, as he stated, with other members of the Communist Party.

* * * * *

13055 THE WITNESS: The question of Miss Ethel Beck, who was in charge of the union hiring hall or the placement center, the office of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, I had been instructed to see her by the New York County office of the Communist Party in April of 1949. I was instructed to see her in relation to obtaining a job in one of the direct mail houses, as they call it, that were under contract to the union, and also I was instructed to see at the same time a Mr. Jack Greenspan, who was business agent for the direct mail houses. As I say, it was a meeting of the Communist Party, instructions of the Communist Party. We discussed the question of the Taft-Hartley law and the non-Communist affidavit because at that time they were attempting to get employment for me in one of the direct mail houses where they felt the union was weak and the Party said we have to have a Party member in that direct mail house. I raised the question at that time, 13056 if I went into the shop and got a job, for instance, as shop steward and would have to comply with the non-Communist affidavit of the Taft-Hartley law, would I be required to sign that non-Communist affidavit. At that time on the question of resignation from the Communist